A LETTER

To His moſt Excellent Majeſty

King William III.

SHEWING,

I. The Original Foundation of the *Engliſh* Monarchy.

II. The Means by which it was remov'd from that Foundation.

III. The Expedients by which it has been ſupported ſince that Removal.

IV. Its preſent Conſtitution, as to all its integral Parts.

V. The beſt Means by which its Grandeur may be for ever maintain'd.

The Third Edition.

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SIR,

A Well-meaning and dutiful Subject humbly begs your Majeſty to read this Letter, which is written with no other deſign than only to ſet before you,

I. What was the antient Foundation of the Engliſh Monarchy.

II. How it was remov'd from its natural Foundation.

III. By what Expedients it has bin ſupported ſince that Removal.

IV. By what Expedient your Majeſty may ſupport the Monarchy during your Reign (which I pray God may be long and happy) and alſo raiſe it to as high a degree of Glory as ever it attain'd heretofore. Under which Head is included its preſent Conſtitution as to all its integral Parts.

I. The Monarchy of *England* was ſettled upon an over-ballance of Lands veſted in the King, the Nobility, and the Church, who antiently poſſeſs'd above two thirds of the whole Engliſh Territory: But the Noblemen held their Lands upon condition, that they ſhould aſſiſt the King on all his Occaſions with certain Quotas of Men well arm'd and paid: And then theſe Noblemen let out their Lands to their Tenants on condition they ſhould always be ready to follow their reſpective Lords to the War as often as the King had any occaſion for their Service. So that very ſmall Rents were demanded by the Lord from the Tenants, becauſe he had contracted for their Perſonal Service.

'Twas this diſpoſition of Lands which enabled our former Kings to raiſe great Armies when they pleas'd, and to invade *France* (their natural Enemy) with ſucceſs: and hereby it was that the Nobility upheld the Grandure of the King at

home as well as abroad; and at the same time they were a shelter and defence to the common People, if the King were inclin'd to make any Incroachments upon them. For the overballance of Propriety (and consequently their greatest natural Power) was vested in the middle state of Nobility; who were therefore able to preserve both King and People in their due bounds.

Thus the English Monarchy stood upon a natural Foundation, the King being the great Landlord of his People, who were all bound by their Tenures (in subordination to one another) to support his Crown and Dignity.

II. This antient Foundation of the English Monarchy was sap'd and undermin'd by K. *Henry* the Seventh, who (having seen the Imperial Crown of *England* dispos'd at the pleasure of the Lords that had maintained a War against the Crown for near 400 years) could not but be much concerned at the overgrown Power of the Peers, who sometimes would pull down and set up what King they pleas'd; and this Consideration made K. *Henry* the Seventh seek after ways and means how to lessen the Power of the Lords, which had been so prejudicial to the Crown: and seeing that their overgrown Power was supported by the great Territories of Land of which they were possess'd, and which they could not alienate from their Heirs, He by the help of his Parliament found out a way to change the Tenure of Lands in such a manner that the Tenant should be oblig'd only to pay a Rent instead of Personal Service to his Landlord: and also a way was found out for the Lords to alienate their Lands from their Posterity. This was done to the end the Lords might be encourag'd by an expensive way of living to sell their Lands, and that the Commons who liv'd thriftily might be enabled to purchase them. Hereby it came to pass that at the end of King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign (in whose time most part of the Church-Lands were also sold to the People) the common People of *England* had near two thirds of the Lands of *England* in their proper Possession, and the King, Lords, and Church little more than one third part; whereby the Ballance was turn'd on the side of the Commons,

who

who were therefore able to make War upon the King, Lord and Church together, as appear'd afterwards in the Reign of King *Charles* the First.

Thus it appears that the antient Foundation of the English Monarchy was remov'd in the Reign of K. *Henry* the Seventh; and the over-ballance of Lands falling from the Lords to the Commons, 'tis evident that the Monarchy has ever since stood not upon an Aristocratical but a Popular Foundation; and such a Foundation dos naturally support none but Commonwealth Forms of Government. Wherefore a Monarchy supported on such a Foundation may properly be call'd a Government of Expedients, because it is by Expedients and Inventions, and not upon any bottom of its own that it subsists. Now what Expedients our Kings have us'd to support the Monarchy is the next thing to be considered. Wherefore,

III. The Ballance of Lands being chang'd by the end of K. *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, from the Lords and Church to the Commons of *England*, 'tis past all doubt but that Queen *Elizabeth* discover'd the popular bottom of the Monarchy, because she found out the only wise Expedient by which the Monarchy upon its new Foundation was capable of being supported in its antient Lustre and Glory. Her Expedient was her Popularity, by which she accommodated her personal Administration to the true Genius of the Monarchical Constitution as it then stood. For the whole Reign of that Queen (of Glorious Memory) tho long, but not tedious, was past over in a constant Courtship to her People, in which not only all her Actions, but sometimes her very Words expressed her knowledg, that the Monarchy was then founded on their Affections. In what Glory she supported her self and the English Monarchy by that Expedient of Popularity, notwithstanding very great Oppositions from the preeminent Powers of *Europe*, her History do's sufficiently explain.

King *James* the First was not in his nature inclin'd to pursues this honourable and proper Expedient, but his thoughts seemed to be set on his own Power more than upon his Peoples Good;

Good; whereby it came to pass that the Flattery of the Court was more pleasing to him than the general Interest of his Kingdom. And having got some superficial skill in the Arts and Sciences, and a profound knowledg (as he thought) in Theology, he made his Court to the Divines of the Church of *England*, that they being appriz'd of his great Learning might in their Writings celebrate his Fame, and insinuate to the People his great Knowledg in all sorts of Divine and Human Learning. Hereupon at his first coming to the Crown of *England* he industriously assisted the Bishops and Church-Party against the Puritans; whom the Church look'd upon as no less than her Enemies, because tho they could endure, yet they did not admire her Bishops and Ceremonies. And in this manner that King found out his Expedient in the Church-party, which admir'd and almost ador'd his deep Learning, oftentimes comparing him to King *Solomon* for Wisdom, and indeed omitted no opportunity which might gain him an extraordinary Reverence among the People.

'Tis not then to be wonder'd at that King *Charles* the First trod in the steps of his Father, and pursued the same Expedient which had been successful to his Father, especially having derived from him the same Temper of Mind, and being well pleas'd to have for his Flatterers the gravest of Divines; whose Courtship ever tended to aggrandize the King by enlarging the Royal Prerogative, and to set it above the Laws of the Realm, by virtue of some political Doctrines which they drew from the Word of God. From hence sprang the Divine Right by which those Kings were said to reign over us, and a Divine Right of Succession to the Crown of *England* was derived to their Posterity. But yet King *Charles* the First laid too great a weight upon this Expedient, and encouraged it too much, even when the People began to be sensible that the Pulpit-Law did build the King's Prerogative upon the Ruins of the People's Liberty: And herewith began the quarrel of the People against that King, in which he lost his Life; and the Monarchy, losing its Expedient of the Church party, was likewise overthrown.

After

After this an Eſſay was made to introduce a Commonwealth-form of Government, but it was interrupted by a Standing Army, which with their arbitrary and uncertain ways of Adminiſtration at laſt tir'd out the People, that they reſtor'd the Monarchy in the Perſon of King *Charles* the Second; who being the Son of the Royal Martyr, was intitled to all that Aſſiſtance which the Church was capable of giving: and there was one thing more which made the Church-men exert all their Powers with the greateſt vigor in favor of their reſtor'd King, which was this.

The Clergy and their Party having bin ill treated ſince the downful of King *Charles* the Firſt, and being again reſtor'd with *Charles* the Second to their former Dignities, they were highly animated againſt the Presbyterians, by whom they had bin provoked in the late *Interregnum*, ſo that nothing was more in their Deſires than to be avenged of their Enemies; and this Maſter-paſſion of theirs was ſo well gratified by their King, who granted ſevere Laws againſt all Diſſenters from the Church, that no Prince ever gain'd the Hearts of the Clergy and their whole Party more intirely to his Intereſt than *Charles* the Second. No Vice or Lewdneſs could ſtain the Reputation of the Martyr's Son; but tho he were the greateſt Encourager of all Profaneneſs and Immorality in the moſt open manner, yet ſtill he was our moſt Religious and Gracious King. In his time all Atheiſts, Debauchees and looſe Perſons own'd the Church of *England* for their Mother; which numerous Party enlarging the Pale of the Church, aſſiſted very much to advance the Power of the King upon the foundation of the Divine Right which it was ſaid God had given him: ſo that the univerſal Acclamation was, Great is *Diana* of the *Epheſians*, and great is the *Jure divino* King, the Image which fell down from *Jupiter!*

But notwithſtanding this loud Acclamation, the cautious King, who in his Youth had bin forc'd to travel into foreign Countries, and was unwilling to take ſuch another Journy, did not think fit to rely wholly upon this Church-Expedient, but to give it greater ſtrength he twiſted into it a Court-party, who by their Places and Penſions were oblig'd to aſſiſt his

Royal

Royal Pleasure by their Votes in both Houses of Parliament: and thus the Monarchy had its Foundation laid in Place and Pension, which by angry People is call'd *BRIBERY.* But let that be as it will, 'tis certain that Men can never act so vigorously for a Bribe, as out of mere Inclination. Besides this, mercenary Men are soon discover'd in their Designs, and the discovery of their Principle forfeits all their Credit with the People. So that a small steddy Country Party in Parliament were a great clog upon the Projects of Church and Court, which, tho so closely united together, prov'd but a lame Expedient to support the Monarchy in the Person of King *Charles* the Second; so that between these two stools he fell at last to the ground, but not without thoughts of the only Expedient by which he might (had he lived) have establish'd himself upon the foundation of the People of *England.*

King *James* the Second would not trust to any of the forementioned Expedients, because none of them could be sufficient to carry him thro all his Designs, especially thro that of introducing Popery. Nothing less than a standing Army could support his Tyranny, but Popery was too great a weight for the Army to stand under: So that while he was subduing the People to Popery by a Protestant Army, he lost both People and Army; in consequence whereof he was lost himself. And that the loss of him may by means of your Majesty's happy Reign be a Gain to *England*, it is to be consider'd,

IV. By what Expedient your Majesty may support the English Monarchy during your Reign, and by which you may raise it to as eminent a degree of Glory as it ever attain'd heretofore.

Your Majesty may remember that the original foundation of the Monarchy was the great Territory of Land possessed by the King: but your Majesty is also sensible that there are but very small Remainders of this Territory in your present Possession; even the very accidental additions of Lands to the Crown have bin alienated to the Favorites of the Scotish Line: So there is need of an Expedient now as much as ever for the support of the Monarchy.

Be

Be pleas'd therefore to review the Expedients of former Princes, and see if any of them be suitable to your particular Circumstances, or proper for your Majesty to depend upon for the Support and Glory of your Throne. And,

As for the Church-party, which was the darling Support of the Scotish Line, it is so much worn out by a Succession of three Kings, that 'tis very weak and feeble at present. The Craft of the Priest, which consists in framing such Interpretations of holy Scripture as serve an indirect Interest, was never discover'd so much as of late, and no Person has so much contributed to the discovery hereof as your own self; who by the Revolution you have lately made have revers'd all the Political Divinity which the Clergy have bin propagating since the Reign of King *James* the First. 'Twas the Church Clergy and Party who by their preaching and voting oppos'd the Bill for excluding *James* D. of *York*, a known Papist: 'Twas this Party who imposed upon the Nation the Doctrine of Passive Obedience to a Tyrannical King upon pain of eternal Damnation: They always avow'd the divine right of a Lineal Succession to the Crown (by which your Majesty is excluded) and that all Kings are of God's (not the Peoples) making. From these Principles some of 'em openly refus'd to swear Allegiance to your Majesty; and those of them who yield a passive Conformity to your Title and Government, have bin found in several differing stories about the ways and means whereby they satisfy their Consciences in this matter. Some have alledg'd, that your Majesty having conquer'd us, they may lawfully submit to a Usurpation which cannot be avoided, and is settled by success: but all of 'em know that your Majesty can make Bishops and Deans *de facto*, and therefore they will not question the Defactoship of your Prerogative Royal. But it cannot be expected that the Clergy, who have usually requir'd the Peoples submission to their Sentiments under the pain of Damnation, should upon this Revolution be contented to cry *peccavi*, and openly recant all their former Doctrines of divine Polity by a hearty active conformity to your Majesty's rightful Title and Government. For this reason it is you have received so little respect from the body of the Clergy, tho, we have receiv'd all that we enjoy from you.

But yet suppose the Church were willing to exert it self in your Service, its Influence is not at present so powerful as it has

bin: for by medling so much in State-Affairs she has lost (in great measure) her former Reputation: Nor has she near so numerous a Party as formerly she had: for all the Deists, Socinians, and Latitudinarians own no such Church-power at all. The Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers. tho they have their several forms of Church Government, yet are no friends to that publickly establish'd, but they are unfeigned lovers of your Majesty, Bigotry likewise has lately suffer'd a great diminution, and Incredulity is strangely increas'd, and almost become fashionable. Thus the Authority of the Church is forc'd to submit to the Reason of Mankind; and all those who are dutiful to your Majesty, are to averse to the Homilies of the Church, because they exclude you from all pretence of Right to the Crown you wear: So that the Toleration granted by your Majesty has done you more Service than Uniformity can ever do.

As for the Court-party, 'twas never esteem'd to be any more than an Auxiliary to the Church for the support of K. *Charles* II. in whose Reign too it was discover'd that after a Catalogue of Court-Pensioners was publish'd from the Press, the Complexion of his Parliaments was very much changed. And if at any time such a List should be printed, the People of *England* would refuse to give their Votes for them in the next Election of a Parliament, and in their stead will elect Members of a contrary temper: People commonly run out of one extream into another; and when they reject a Courtier, they will probably choose a morose-humor'd Man in his place.

It must be allow'd that it has the face of a politic Expedient to adopt Men of known Integrity and Love to their Country into the Court-party; for hereby the Hearts of the People will be for the present gain'd to the Court: tho these Patriots being endued with a ductile temper, will soon become conformable to the nature of the Court. This very Expedient has for a time done good Service to your Majesty's Affairs both at home and abroad. But I think it ought to be considered only as a Cordial which for a short time may revive a languishing Man's Spirit, but yet ought not to be depended upon as a constant support of Life. And as for these new Whig-Courtiers, they will raise the Expectations of all Men to hope for a steady virtuous Administration. But when this reputed Patriot shall accommodate his Discourse to the old style of the Court; when he shall insinuate such Notions to his

his old Acquaintance, the baſeneſs and unworthineſs whereof his old Friends had heard him frequently deteſt all his days in which he was unprefer'd; this new Courtier ſoon loſes all his Credit and Intereſt with his old Friends, who refuſe to follow the Decoy Duck into the Net.

But this is not all the miſchief which attends this Project of a Whig-Courtier, but a perſonal loſs of your own Reputation is actually the Conſequence hereof: for as long as the Court was made up of Tories, the People were willing to excuſe your Majeſty, and lay the faults of Male-adminiſtration upon the Tory-Court, ſaying, That the old Tools would ſtill do no other than the old Work. But when a Man of known Honour, Integrity and Love to his Country, upon getting a Preferment ſhall change his former Note, do Violence to himſelf by changing his avowed Principle, and thereby loſing all the Reputation which his former Virtue had gain'd him, every Man will be apt to conclude that this new Courtier is encouraged to do this by ſome higher Power, if not engag'd thereto by the fear of loſing his Place or Penſion. And when the People of *England* ſhall come to know that as ſurely as a Land-man who is imploy'd at Sea will turn Seaman, a Patriot imploy'd in the Adminiſtration will turn Courtier, they will begin in earneſt to think of ſuch a Form of Government as can ſubſiſt without a Court.

And having ſaid this, I cannot forbear telling your Majeſty my Thoughts concerning a Commonwealth Party which has bin much talk'd of in *England* during the Reign of *K. Charles* the Second, and has not quite bin forgotten at any time ſince.

A great Veneration for Monarchy has bin frequently made uſe of by Men to recommend themſelves to the particular favor of our Kings of *England*; and when real occaſions have bin wanting to recommend their Affection for Monarchy to the notice of the King, a mere fantaſtical imaginary fear of a Commonwealth has bin made uſe of: hence they have bin perſwading our Sovereign Princes that a great number of their Subjects have form'd themſelves upon Commonwealth Principles, and are ſtill waiting an opportunity to extirpate the Monarchy, and to introduce into its place a Republican form of Government. But your Majeſty has ſeen this fantaſtical Opinion ſufficiently confuted: For thoſe who were the ſuſpected Commonwealths-men join'd heartily together

in preserving the Monarchy, by voting your Majesty (then Prince of *Orange*) into the English Throne, in opposition to those Adorers of Monarchy who were setting up a Regency; who had they put the Kingly Power into the hands of a Committee, had founded a Commonwealth, or something very hardly to be distinguish'd from it. But to proceed from matter of Fact, to reason freely upon this matter. I cannot suppose any man who has the use of his Reason, and lives under a Monarchy, to be fond of a Commonwealth, if all the ends of Government are answer'd by the settled Monarchy. So in *Holland* he would be thought to have lost the use of his Reason, who should hazard his Life by endeavouring to introduce a Monarchy there, where all the ends of Government are perfectly answer'd by the establish'd form of a Commonwealth. The end of all Governments is the common good of the People; and if that great End be attained under any establish'd Form, he is fit only for a Mad-house who will endeavour to pull down the establish'd form only to introduce a new one: And a Party of such mad men as these can never be sufficient to raise a jealousy in any Government which is under an upright Administration. Tho it must also be acknowledged, that as corrupt Prelates make way for a Presbyterian Government into the Church, so a corrupt Court-party may occasionally introduce a Republican form of Government into the State. Besides, there is no man who understands the political Structure of the English Monarchy, but will find it so agreeable to the Interest of a free People, that nothing can be added to it to render it more perfect: and it is particularly manifest, that all the Advantages which may be suppos'd to arise from a Commonwealth, may be as freely and fully deriv'd from the Temper of the English Monarchy; as may thus appear.

If any man would know what is the Constitution of the Government under which he lives, there are but two things to be done in order thereunto. 1. He may consider the nature of Sovereign Power in relation to all those particular integrating parts out of which it is form'd and composed: And 2. It will be also needful to consider in what Persons these integral parts of Sovereign Power are vested and lodged. For every independent Government comprehends a Sovereign Power within it self, and is specified by the different Lodgment of the parts of that Sovereignty.

Now the integrating parts which compound Sovereign Power are these:

1. Legislative Power, or Authority to make Laws.
2. Executive Power, which consists in creating Officers to execute the Laws, and discharge all the Functions of the Government according to Law.
3. A Power of making War and Peace.
4. A Power of raising Money for support of the Government either in War or Peace.
5. The last Appeal in all cases of Law. To which may be added,
6. The Power over the Mint.

And of these six parts of Sovereign Power, 'tis notorious that there are but one moiety lodged in the Person of the King of *England*, *viz.* The executive Power, the Power of War and Peace, and the Coinage. And of these three branches of Royal Power, the Executive (which is the greatest) is so limited, that the King cannot employ any man in Civil or Military Office under him, but such a one who is qualify'd by Laws of the Peoples making. And tho the power of War be vested in the King, yet the Commons have reserv'd to themselves the power of raising Money, without which no War can be carry'd on. As for the Coinage, 'tis only an honorary Trust, rather than any real Power. But in the Legislature (which is the greatest point of Sovereign Power) 'tis certain that the Commons have their share, insomuch that no Law can be enacted without their Authority. And they also having the power of opening the Purse of the Nation, 'tis certain that no War can be carried on without their Consent. The last Appeal in Suits of Law is usually made to the House of Lords.

And as long as this happy Constitution shall be preserv'd from the power of Violence and Fraud, I cannot tell what to wish for which may be of greater advantage to the People of *England*.

But yet nothing is more notoriously known than that in the four last Reigns many Church-arts and Court-practices were used to break in upon this happy Constitution, by raising the Power of the King above what it ought to be, and by reducing the Commons to a narrower compass of Power than what of Right belongs to them. And 'tis also very well known, that whosoever have shewn their Resentments hereupon, have bin represented

ed as Commonwealths-men and Antimonarchical. But tho these men were declared Enemies to the *Turkish* and *French* forms of Monarchy, 'twas very visible that they were the truest Lovers of *English* Monarchy, because their Behaviour provoked only that sort of men who were promoting such Principles and Practices as tended to change some part of that Constitution. Upon the whole matter, a Commonwealth-form of Government can never be receiv'd among us in *England*, but only as the last Refuge, when the Church-party and Court-party have, thro corruption, subverted the admirable Constitution of *English* Monarchy. But to return from this Digression, since Priest-craft and Court-craft have been of late so much discover'd; since Bigotry of late days is grown out of request; since the unbigotted People are more dutiful to your Majesty than the Bigots are; and since the common People of *England* are more firm and trusty than a Court-party, I cannot but think that

A *Real Popularity* would be a better Expedient than a Church and Court-party join'd together can be: for as to the Expedient of a *Standing Army*, 'tis certain, that besides its own inrrinsic insufficiency, *Lewis* the present French King, and *James* the last of *England* have render'd it odious. It stinks in the Nostrils of all freeborn Men, and can only be an Expedient to set up a Commonwealth. But 'tis plain that

A professed regard to the Common-weal of the People of *England* steddily pursu'd did raise the English Monarchy under the Administration of Q. *Elizabeth* (of blessed memory) to as high a degree of Glory as it ever attain'd when it stood upon its natural Foundation. Nor is any Expedient so proper for your Majesty to use as this. For,

1. Upon this Foundation the Glory of your Illustrious Ancestors was built. And,

2. Hereby your Majesty was recommended to the just and rightful possession of the Crown which at present you adorn. Party-taking, Party-making, or Partiality of all sorts over-threw King *Charles* the First, shook the Throne of King *Charles* the Second, and overturned the Monarchy under the Administration of the late King *James*, which by your Majesty's Affection to the People of *England* was restor'd, and by the same means is still preserv'd, and may

may be advanc'd to as high a pitch of Glory as ever heretofore it had gain'd. For hereby,

1. All the true Ends of Government will be fully answered.

2. All Factions and Parties will be sunk and forgotten: there will be no Whig nor Tory, no Jacobite, no Church-party, Court-party, nor Country-party: for the Interest of Court and Country will be *one* and the *same*, which has not been known since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and therefore will be wonderfully pleasing for its Novelty, as well as for its Profitableness.

3. Virtue and Honesty (which have bin much decay'd of late years) will be encourag'd and restor'd. For no Man can pretend to recommend himself to your Royal Favour, but by advancing the Design which your Majesty openly dos encourage.

4. Hereby your Majesty will gain such a Credit with your People, as by virtue thereof very much to increase the Wealth and Strength of the Nation in a short time. And your Majesty's Revenue must necessarily bear a suitable proportion to the Trade of your Subjects; so that he who commands the Trade of the World, will consequently command the Wealth of the World. And,

5. Hereby you may be able to follow the two great Maxims of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, which were,

1*st*. To be the Head of the Protestants all over the World. And,

2*dly*. To keep the Ballance of *Europe* equal and steddy.

And thus the Glory of the English Monarchy under your Majesty's gracious Administration will be the Terror of others, and the Delight of all English People, which is the sincere desire of

Your Majesty's most faithful, dutiful,

and humble Subject and Servant

THE END.

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